1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Shortly before a burial takes place severel young men from 764
the reduction dig a grave in the local cemetery. On such occasions a reservation functions as a group of kin. There are no [767]
professional gravediggers, and those who volunteer their services are subjected to no tabus. The Araucanians prefer spacious cemeteries, completely enclosed and entered through a single gate which can be locked (see Pl. X, Fig. 2). Orientation is generally to the west, and members of both sexes may be buried side by side, but one section is usually set apart for children. Mention was made of burial plots reserved for the use of groups of relatives, but the nature of such groups could not be ascertained.[18] A variety of grave types may be found in a single cemetery. For instance, at Malalche, near Cautinche, there were four kinds of graves within one enclosure. They were: old style, with the body encased in two halves of a thick tree trunk; a newer kind, in which the corpse rests in a coffin and the plot is enclosed by a small picket fence; children's graves, [766]
marked only with small individual crosses; and the grave of a *machi*, distinguished by her *rewe* set at its foot and also marked with a large wooden cross and surrounded by a picket fence (Pl. X, Fig. 1).

A corpse may be conveyed to the cemetery in an oxcart, but more often it is likely to be carried on a sort of stretcher borne by men. There is a convention that when a body is being thus carried it must not be set down between the house and the place of burial. Should it happen to touch the ground en route, [778]●
a cross must be erected to mark the spot.[19] Since much drunkenness prevails at funerals, it is said that some corpses are repeatedly tumbled to earth. Housse stated that mounted men charge ahead as if to induce a spirit to follow them and, con-

[18] Cf. Cooper (1946, p. 735), who said: "Each family or lineage had its own burial ground near the dwelling . . . to which the body was carried. . . on a stretcher or in the coffin." At Cautinche one of the cemeteries is close to the spot where the first house was built, and another is near a new settlement made in 1917. See Figure 4, near houses Nos. 16 and 1, and Plate X, Figure 2.

[19] Wooden crosses are also placed wherever a murder occurred or a body has been found.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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witches can directly control the actions of *piwichen* or *choñchoñ* is a moot question among the people, but all are agreed that these creatures are somehow implicated in sorcery. One popular tale will suffice to illustrate a number of witchcraft beliefs. It concerns a man who was courting a girl that lived at some distance from his home. Whenever he went to see her he would hear the call of a *choñchoñ* and begin to feel violently ill. His elders advised him that the next time this happened he should plunge his knife into the ground. He followed their instructions and, to his surprise, a winged head fell to earth. He thought that it resembled his mistress, so he hurried to her house and there he found her headless body lying on its back. Thereupon, he deliberately rolled the body over, to prevent the head from reattaching itself properly. Then he went home, and the very next day he received word that his sweetheart had died.

A common cluster of witchcraft practices revolves about the use of various things associated with heat and light. They are known collectively as *cherufe*, a word applied to a miscellaneous category that includes stones supposedly derived from the sun or active volcanoes, meteorites and aerolites, comets, shooting stars, and will-o-the-wisps. All witches are believed to own *cherufes*, particularly in the shape of oddly formed stones taken from flaming volcanoes. These particular *cherufes* are sometimes winged, and fly at the command of sorcerers to consume a victim's blood and make him subject to tuberculosis, pneumonia, or some other serious ailment.

Two other classes of *wekufü*, frequently involved in the exercise of sorcery, are *witranalwe* and *añchimallen*. These terms signify two kinds of corpses stolen from graveyards and put to evil service by powerful witches. A *witranalwe* is made from the body of an adult and corresponds somewhat to our popular idea of a ghost. It is white, and its outline may be seen but never its face. Ordinarily, a *witranalwe* goes about only by night, on horseback. Its favorite trick is to be devil and mislead any person traveling after dark, and to meet a *witranalwe* is a sure omen of disaster, sickness, or death. Exciting encounters with *witranalwe* and narrow escapes from them are favorite subjects

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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pattern of a *machitun*, with the neophyte in the role of patient.[18] As the rites progress the older *machi* rubs the body of her pupil with a highly polished black stone, supposedly a *chrufe*. At one stage, too, both parties cut their fingers deeply and mingle their blood by clasping hands.[19] Later, the candidate acts, for the last time, in the capacity of assistant to her tutor. On this occasion the helper is allowed to use a new *kul·truñ*, made for her by a husband or male kinsman and decorated according to the teacher's instructions.[20] As in the case of curing performances, the *machi* becomes possessed and speaks with the voice of a spirit to an interlocutor. At this time the novice may also become entranced, but she is not yet permitted to talk. Soon, both principals ascend the *rewe*, dance around it, and collapse in the arms of their respective masculine helpers. Feasting follows their recovery, after which the experienced *machi* goes home, the guests depart, and the new *machi* is ready to accept her first professional case.

REDEDICATION CEREMONIES

Every year, at the fiesta of San Juan, which in southern latitudes is near the time of the winter solstice, each active *machi* is supposed to rededicate herself and her *rewe* at a celebration termed *ñeikurewen*.[21] The affair takes place at her home, to which numerous guests are invited. Much food and drink, as well as a sacrificial lamb, must be provided by the hostess.

Guests arrive on the evening before the main events take

[18] Many additional details are given in Robles, 1912, pp. 155–70, and in Métraux, 1939, pp. 319–29. According to Robles several *machis* co-operate to initiate a novice. Among other things they "cure" the candidate by sucking parts of her body till they are raw and bloody.

[19] Hourse, 1939, p. 101.

[20] Typical markings on a *kul·truñ* are shown in Plate VIII.

[21] A sexual or marital relationship is indicated by the term *ñeikurewen*, as *kurewen* means a wedded pair, and *kurutun* means copulation. Through the rededication rites the *machi* is supposed to be remarried to her *rewe*. It may be that *ñeikurewen* also applies, as was suggested by Edwards (1930, p. 29), to a new *machi's* first consecration of a *rewe*, in which she symbolically marries a *canelo* or other sacred tree.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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events that are avowedly secular are interspersed with prayers and other forms of religious expression. One of the most important assemblies, held annually on Saint John's Day, even points to the existence of a kind of ritual calendar. The use of Saint John's Day is not necessarily an instance of basic Christian influence. Even the most pagan of the Mapuche use the term because it is a convenient way of designating the winter solstice, which almost coincides with the fiesta of San Juan on June 24. To most Araucanians Saint John's Day marks the coming of spring and the start of a new year. In their own language the date is known as *ruñitripantu* ("mid-point of the year") or *wetripantu* ("new year").[5] The following account of a San Juan fiesta is based on material supplied by Domingo Carilaf, school teacher at Carrarrile, who got it from his grandmother.

With the approach of the year's turning point each *lonko* or cacique would send his *werken* to invite a large number of guests. Customarily, these included married daughters with their children, husbands and affinal relatives, as well as other kinfolk and personal friends. The chief's retainers would prepare great amounts of favorite foods and beverages, and the guests were expected to bring much bread and freshly slaughtered meat, but no beverages. Just prior to the arrival of the visitors, the *lonko* sacrificed a sheep and prayed for peace and happiness for himself, his followers, and his guests. While praying he would look up to the sky, addressing himself to the good deity *Nguenechen*, often called *chau* ("father"). From time to time he would blow on the *pimanturo*, a perforated stone disc, which the Mapuche regarded with great reverence;[6] and every now and then he would sprinkle from a wooden dish some of the sacrificed sheep's blood.

Guests were expected to remain from two to seven days.

[5] Augusta (1916, I: 233) gave an excellent rendering of the meanings of *wetripantu*: "*El tiempo en que vuelve el sol del norte (año nuevo según el cómputo natural), la primavera; el año nuevo (político).*" See also Augusta, 1934, p. 35; and Cooper, 1946, p. 747.

[6] *Pimanturos* are pictured and discussed in Joseph, 1931a, pp. 36–38.

1: Titiev E-3 (1948) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
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PLATE XIV

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FIG. 1. Main altar of the *ñillatun* at Malalche.

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FIG. 2. Dance group at Malalche. The dancers are approaching the main altar. The *machi* is the short, stout woman in a light apron, second to the right from the woman holding a baby. The disordered appearance of the group is noteworthy.

[end plate 14]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucaniana SG4

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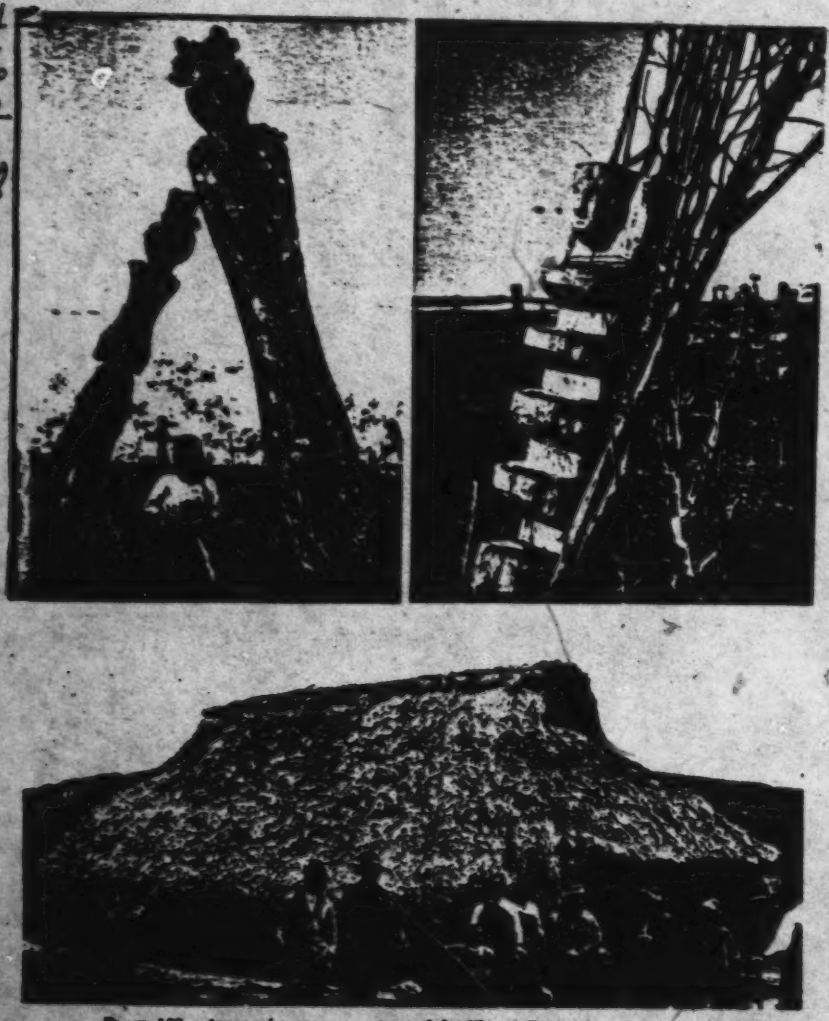

PLATE 188.—Araucanian graves, rewe, and dwelling. *Top (left):* Grave posts. *Top (right):* Rewe, or machi's ladder. *Below: Mapuche* dwelling, or ruka. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[p. 734 A]

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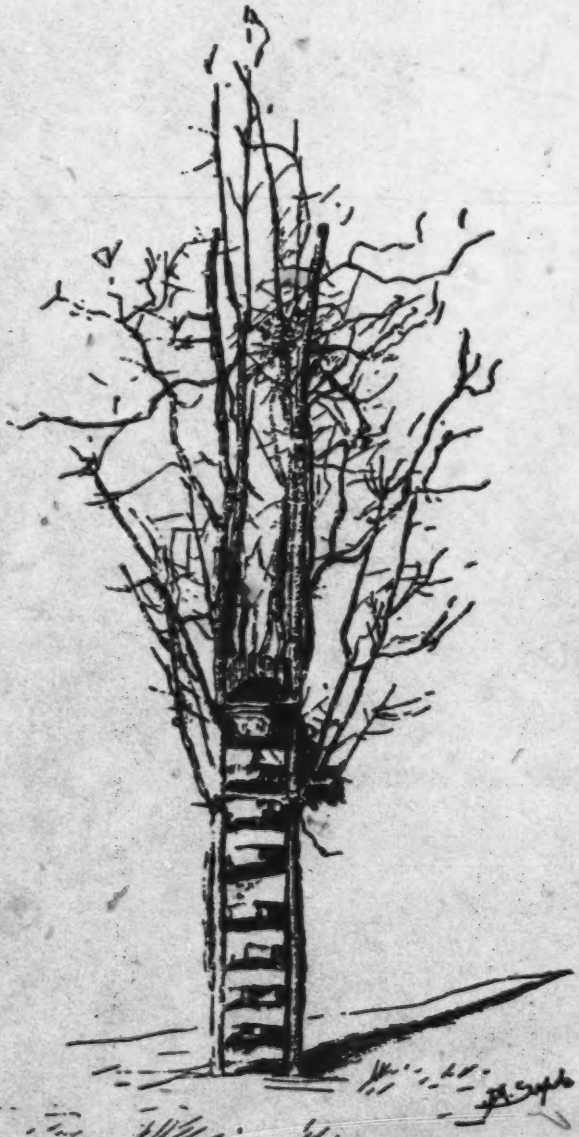

FIGURE 83.—A *Mapuche* ruwe. (After Guevara, 1911, p. 237.)

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

disease by bodily contact to a lamb, dog, or chicken, and then killing the animal; using bones and stones, especially perforated stone club-heads (Housse, 1939, pp. 95–97), as talismans; depositing offerings in certain cupped rocks (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 211–16); dissolving bezoars (probably scrapings) in water and having horses drink the mixture to make them swift in battle, and passing feathers of certain birds over the body and feet of horses for the same purpose (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:115); using hairs or bits of clothing of a person to harm him (Moesbach, 1936, p. 369). (For fuller details, see Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 259–61; 1913, pp. 266–69, 272–73, and passim in ch. 5.)

(e) *Ritual patterns.*—Some of the more outstanding ones were the following: Aspersions with blood or chicha; the killing of llamas, later of sheep, with extraction of the heart and sucking of blood from same; the use of *Drimys winteri* as the sacred tree; four as the sacred number; ritual recognition of the four cardinal points; and fumigations with tobacco smoke.

(f) *Divination.*—Certain forms of divination were used, such as with chicha (Latcham, 1922 b, pp. 516–17) and with drops of water placed on stone ax heads (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:100), but divination was not, it seems, very highly elaborated. (See also under Shamanism, p. 750.)

(g) *Omens.*—Dreams figured largely in omen beliefs. A fox bark at night, a mero (*Agriornis livida livida*) bird on the hut, or the cry of certain nocturnal birds over the hut were omens of sickness and death. Owls were birds of evil augury. A fire emitting many sparks or crackling as if the wood were green, and a loika (*Trupialis* sp.) bird singing at the hut door, were signs of guests to come. Certain carnivorous birds following an army or a fox passing near or through the army on march on the left side were bad omens. Rosales (1877–78, 1:165; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 85) states that twitches felt in the eyelids or the arms were interpreted as omens—a common North American Indian belief, found widely in other parts of the world. (For further details on omens, cf.: Olivares, 1864, pp. 52–53; Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 313–16, including data on dreams and nightmares; 1913, pp. 281–83; Housse, 1939, pp. 114–15.)

(h) *Taboos.*—Guevara Silva (1908, pp. 226–30; 1929, 2:155–66) lists many taboos; some of these are purely social prohibitions; others may be more of the "negative magic" order. To give just three examples: Snakes were not to be trod upon; good beasts and birds were not to be maltreated or insulted; rotten eggs were not to be put in gardens lest the harvest turn out badly.

(i) *Oaths.*—Both assertory and promissory verbal oaths were common, and oaths were recorded from earliest post-Hispanic times. The person swore by Eponamón (Ercilla, 1910, p. xix), by the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 85; Robles Rodrigues, 1942, pp. 61–62; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41),

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

788 by the governor of heaven and earth (Robles Rodríquez, loc. cit.), or, it seems, more often, by his own heart, eyes or head, or by his father, mother, wife, or children (Havestadt, 1883, 1:149, 398; Robles Rodríguez, loc. cit.; Guevara Silva, 1898, p. 211; 1908, p. 203). Havestadt 201 (1883, 2:709–10) described certain solemn pledges bearing some resem- 788 blance to gesture oaths: spitting on and then clasping right hands to bind a friendship; shaking right hands on committing someone to another's care to be taken to a fourth party; touching of a "strophiolum" (small garland?) by blood kin on both sides to denote that composition paid over has settled the matter. In some of the above oaths, a magico-religious element is fairly clear; in others, perhaps quite absent.

SHAMANISM

756 *Mapuche-Huilliche* shamanism has been very thoroughly and critically treated in a recent paper by Métraux (1942 b). In the following outline, based very largely on Métraux's study, most source references are omitted, as his work, with full bibliographical data and extensive citations, is easily accessible.

The most common name for the *Mapuche-Huilliche* shaman was machi. Other much used names were voigueboye and dngul (each with many variants). In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women (pl. 156, *top left*). In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women.

There were no shaman societies. In earlier times, candidates were instructed secretly in caves or hidden places by practicing shamans and were initiated into the profession at a solemn feast marked by the sacrifice of a llama and by an exhibition of powers. In the initiating rite, too, the initiator symbolically exchanged tongue and eyes with the candidate.

[787] In more recent times, a person was called to the shamanistic profession by the Supreme Being or by a spirit through an interior revelation. A person took the profession not by free choice or quest; the calling was rather imposed supernaturally upon her. She was then taught by a professional machi over a long period before she was consecrated. At the consecration itself, lasting several days, the candidate was given more intensive training in the formulas, songs, dances, [778] and drum beats of the consecration rite. A rewe, a sacred tree, was put up before her hut. Among the very elaborate rites of consecration were prayers addressed to the Supreme Being or to the celestial shamans for granting of machi powers to the candidate, and exchange of blood between the shaman consecrator and the candidate.

756 The functions of the shaman were many: To discover the sorcerer 787 or being responsible for death; to bring rain; to predict the outcome of

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

war; to discover hidden or future things; to bring good or bad luck in hockey games or horse races; and, above all, to cure the sick. In clairvoyance, shamans used a type of scrying, looking into a tray of water (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:135). Wonder-inspiring feats such as dancing barefoot on live coals or swallowing them were part of the trade (ibid., 1:144, 169). The chief instruments used by the shaman were: A small hand drum (fig. 85; see supra under Musical Instruments, p. 738) containing three or four sacred likan (bits of crystal or obsidian or other stone supposed to have been thrown up by volcanoes; Félix

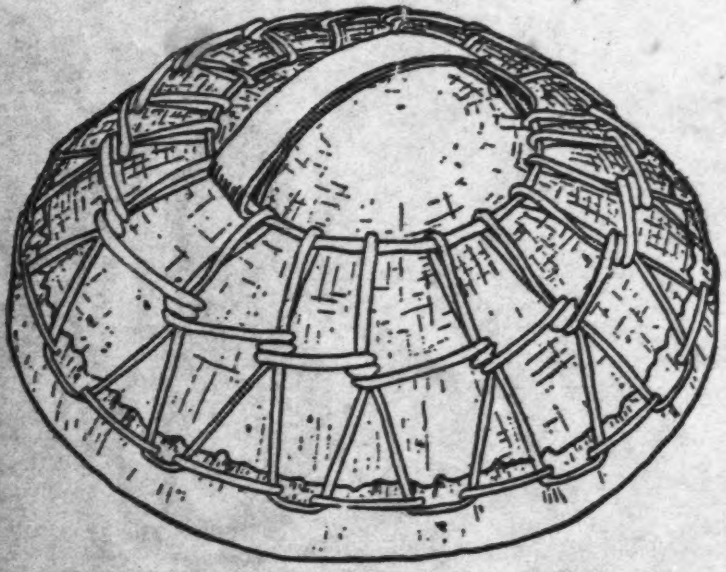

FIGURE 85.—A Machi's drum. (After Claude Joseph, 1931, fig. 30.)

José, 1916, 1:115); a calabash rattle; an iron bow with small bells on it (early recorded ca. 1742 among Argentine Indians: Morris, 1927, p. 195).

While the shaman's tasks were varied, the chief one was the cure of disease. Disease, like most other evils, was caused by impersonal or personal wekufü (cf. supra). Three theories of disease-causation prevailed: the intrusion of some object or of an evil spirit into the sick person; the stealing of the soul of the patient; the administration of poison directly or magically by a sorcerer. Evil spirits caused disease either on their own initiative or, more often, at the instigation of some sorcerer.

To work a cure, in earlier times, the machi had recourse to the help of his or her familiar spirit(s). The machi of modern times mostly

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentinian Araucanians
Pehuenche

the Supreme Being (Barbará, 1930, p. 49) and of "Gualichu" for wekufú. Gualichu was used, according to Lehmann-Nitsche's field studies (1922, p. 30), not among themselves, but only when talking with Spanish-speaking people. The Supreme Being of the Argentine *Araucanians* appears to be more closely associated with the sun than among the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. Oaths to fulfill agreements were made to the sun (Cox, 1863, p. 88; Milanesio, 1898, p. 41).

Balls of hardened hair found in the bodies of cattle, and gravelly formations from horse kidneys, were preserved as charms (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 243–44).

CULTURE OF THE PEHUENCHE

Our chief original sources, with dates of observation, on the culture of the "*Pehuenche*" are the following: Mariño de Lovera (1865), 1562–63; Rosales (1877–78), 1650–53; Pietas (1846), 1729; Amat y Junient (1927), ca. 1760; Molina (1901), before 1767–68; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), last third of 18th century; Sors (1921), ca. 1765–80; De la Cruz (1836), 1806; Poeppig (1835–36), 1828. (Cf. most of data assembled by Latcham, 1929–30, 63:150–72.) It is far from clear, however, whether all these writers were referring to the same ethnic entity, for "*Pehuenche*," as previously noted, was used in a very loose sense, ordinarily to denote peoples living near or in the Andes who drew largely on the *Araucaria imbricata* for their sustenance.

From their location, between about lat. 34° and 37° S., as well as from the linguistic and cultural evidence, it appears probable that the "*Pehuenche*" described by Amat y Junient, Molina, Carvallo i Goyeneche, De la Cruz, and Poeppig were all one and the same people. Their culture was dealt with in the preceding section on Argentine *Araucanians*. We shall confine treatment in this section to the culture of the *Pehuenche* described by the three earlier of the above-listed sources.

These latter "*Pehuenche*" lived somewhat farther south, from about lat. 37° to 40° or 41° S., within the general range of the *Araucaria imbricata*, kept well up in the Cordillera or in the intercordilleran valleys, and differed in some specific cultural respects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. To judge from the location of these "*Pehuenche*" as well as from the cultural data, as recorded by our three sources, there is at least an even chance that they all represent the same ethnic entity, but this is by no means certain, in view of the known mobility of population in the area in question, especially around and after the beginning of the 18th century.

The chief food staple, until at least the time of Pietas, was *Araucaria imbricata*, piñons, from which, according to Mariño de Lovera (1865, p. 268) the natives made "bread, wine, and dishes"—a statement

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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Chile

a mixture of psychology, superstition, and the administration of herbal or other health restoratives. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "Of all their restoratives to health, the Mapuche have the greatest confidence in the machitun; I do not believe that it will ever be rooted out of their beliefs."

The machitun is performed over sick men and women, when indicated; more rarely over children. Several schoolchildren had had one performed over them during an epidemic of measles; some were only 2 years old at the time.

In general, the following are the features of the machitun:

(1) A performance at night with many invited persons present. "The evil spirit of sickness comes at night and must be driven out at night." The place is lit up by burning colihüe stalks held by women.

(2) Use of branches of canelo, a tree for which Araucanians exhibit a feeling of respect. "There is something sacred about the tree." The machi plants branches of canelo above the head of the patient, who is in a supine position, and bowed stalked of quila between the canelo branches; at the feet of the patient, branches of laurel común; and all around the patient, twigs of lingue.

(3) The beating of the kultrun (drum) by the machi.

(4) The shaking of the wada (rattle) by the machi.

(5) Use of a stone to which magical power is ascribed. (Generally, however, such stones are used only in witchcraft.) These stones are of two types: a black one, highly polished, called likan and said to have been ejected by volcanoes; and a green beadlike one, called llanka, found occasionally in prehistoric burials along with urns, and said to be decidedly more powerful than the likan. (A dying machi gave Father Sigifredo his llanka, a 4-cornered stone a little smaller than a thumbnail. It had a neatly drilled hole in the center through which a string was passed so that the stone could be suspended from the neck.)

(6) The performing machi's particular banner attached to a pole. "As soon as the machi arrives at the ruka where the sick person is, he erects to one side of the ruka and considerably taller than the ruka the pole for his banner. At each side of the pole he plants a young branch of either maqui or palqui."

(7) Songs sung by the machi. Quoting a Panguipulli informant: "I shall sing you the song that is sung by the machi before he begins to chase away the evil spirits with firebrands, from both inside and outside the ruka: 'If you bury yourself under the earth, I shall be able to see you. Or, if you place yourself over the door, I shall see

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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ŋillatun, the tribal religious ceremonial, prayers are directed to chau chau, God as the father of all. "We believed that ŋənechén came to earth when we had done our planting and that he moved through the fields then; that even today he wanders about on the earth and does good to people." With God, it was believed, lived a woman, known as ray kuʃe, but she was not a goddess, informants insisted. She is addressed in the prayers of the ŋillatun as papai, the mother of all. "That was our old belief," said a woman in her late fifties; "today we believe that ray chau has living with Him, in addition to ray kuʃe, a virgin who has a son called Jesus. Ray kuʃe wears a blue dress; ray chau, a blue chiripe [pants] and a red poncho. I do not know how the virgin is dressed. There is only one God. He rules the world and gives us good health and food and long life. I liked our old way best, when we believed in ray chau and ray kuʃe." 776

There was no belief in minor deities. Something akin to veneration was shown to stones resembling figurines. (Whether the belief is an old one was not ascertained.) The cacique in Collón Curá is said to have in his possession a stone, approximately 12 inches high, that has red-blue eyes and red lips. At the ŋillatun a new silk band is tied about its forehead and secured at the back of the head with a knot, just as men secure their headbands; a sash is tied about its waist; a silver knife placed gaucho-style at its back; and a small arrowhead put in its arms. "I am afraid of the stone; it is sacred. Some years ago one of the sons of the cacique sold it to a man from Buenos Aires but advised him to safeguard it behind several locks. This the man did. But one night the figurine walked out, killed the Buenos Aires man, and came back to the seller's home in Collón Curá. In the morning it made a terrifying noise; it so frightened the man who had sold it that he died the following day." When we asked where in Collón Curá we might see the figurine, the informant replied, "It is a dangerous thing for you to try to see it. Stay around until the time of our ŋillatun when everyone attending the ŋillatun can see it. But be respectful toward it. One time a woman like you [non-Araucanian] was invited to take part in it [the ŋillatun]. She said, 'Why should I take part in it? I have no interest in the ŋillatun.' And then she made some flippant remarks about the ŋillatun and also about the figurine. She went away. An electric storm rose. Lightning struck her. She fell down and was dead for a few hours. After that the right side of her face was lamed." She added, "I know of no other sacred stones in use." 778

Old Araucanian men and women today express awe when they come upon two weather-beaten stones representing figures found in 778 781

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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778 [781] the yard of a non-Araucanian (pl. 76, 5, 6); they step backward and refuse to touch them. Some scold because the stones are not in possession of Araucanians; none knows the origin of the stones or their significance. One stone was found at the edge of a high cliff; the other had fallen from there into a dry river bed.

PRIVATE PRAYERS, PERSONAL SUPERNATURAL POWERS

782 788 Private prayers are said on many occasions today, as formerly. They are said for a safe landing before crossing water; when a thunderstorm rages; when starting a fire; to prevent floods and famine; for a good harvest; and for success in fishing. To avert dangers of an electric storm, Kolupan drops on the fire a pinch of wheat, which he has reserved for this purpose, and prays, "Oh, God! You who created the earth protect me, your son, and your people, also. Let this thunderstorm pass by, and let it do me no harm." A woman in her sixties throws on the fire a pinch of anything edible she may happen to have in her house—"it may be wheat, yerba maté, peas, beans, or sugar," and prays. "When I have done this the storm invariably passes by," she added.

To prevent floods every person—man, woman, and child—who walks or rides past a barren plot of land near Pucura must go onto the plot and perform the ŋoaltun (pray while dancing on one leg). The plot is about 9 yards in diameter. Dancing is done within the plot and three times around its circumference. "I saw my father and mother do the ŋoaltun," said a 16-year-old girl; "I did not have to do it, for I did not pass the place; I merely went with them to the place, and then turned around and came home." Kolupan demonstrated the ŋoaltun by placing one knee under the other, and hopping forward.

No informant claimed personal supernatural powers; nor did any know of anyone who claimed such powers, except sorcerers.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CEREMONIAL: THE ŊILLATUN

796 The tribal religious ceremonial is a public community prayer accompanied by sacrifice, known as the ŋillatun. No complete sequential account of the manner in which it was conducted in the early days, or of the modified form of today, was obtained. The following information, however, was collected.

Old Araucanians speak of the ceremonial as ŋillatun, or ŋillapun; young Araucanians and non-Araucanians almost exclusively as the camaruka; an occasional person calls it by the Spanish word "roga-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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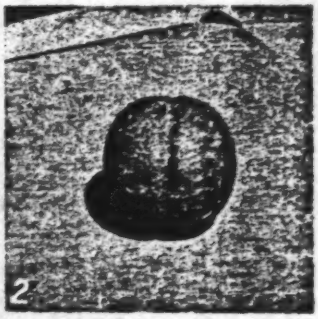

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Pottery and implements and objects of stone: 1, Jug (metawe), and 2, a ball of stone used in a boleodora. 3, Pottery pipe bowls, and 4, two boleodoras. (1, 2, 3, and 4, collection of Parque Nacional de Lanin.) 5 and 6, Two stones to which Araucanians attach significance. (Courtesy Bertha Ilg-Koessler.)

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that she enters into the supernatural world and grapples with evil spirits, sometimes causes people to fear particular *machi* as potential evildoers themselves, as capable and suspected of practicing sorcery. While shamans are obviously important agents through whom individual Mapuche deal with the supernatural, they usually do not operate at the level of social action in which the ritual congregation is involved as a moral community. Therefore, I defer an analysis of shamanism to a future monograph, concerning myself here with a discussion of community-based ritual.

The most important ceremonies in which the ritual congregation is involved are *ñillatun* and *awn*. *Ñillatun* is an agricultural fertility rite which is generally held in the preharvest season, to supplicate the powers that be to insure the production of crops, animals, and the prosperity and well-being of the Mapuche. It is also held in the postharvest season to give thanks, to ask for continued protection from the forces of evil, and sometimes to register complaints concerning poor crops or the loss of animals. Special attention is given the spirits of departed chiefs who walk in the company of sons of the gods and who are called upon to intercede before *ñenechen* and the pantheon on behalf of the people. Regional deities such as god and goddess of the Southwind (*huillifucha* and *huillikushe*) are supplicated to restrain their forces, or *ñenechen* is asked to restrain these. *Ñillatun* is always held on a well-demarcated and traditional ceremonial field on the host reservation. Where tradition is remembered, there is a mythical account of the special connection between this sacred place and the dominant lineage of the host reservation.

When the appropriate season of the year draws near, one of a set of reservations engages in preparations for the staging of a *ñillatun* ceremony. The set of reservations, very often a triad, celebrates *ñillatun* annually, at least ideally. One of the set is considered the host unit on successive occasions, the others participating as *responsible* members (as distinguished from mere participants) of the set. The leadership of these ceremonies is vested specifically in the *ñillatufe*, ideally a chief of one of the set of reservations, a person in whom are integrated the roles of elder of the dominant lineage of the host reservation, and priest of the host group. These roles are only analytically separable as are the statuses involved. Together they comprise a status and role set which serves to perpetuate the office of reservation chief.

This set of reservations forms the nucleus of most responsible units involved in any single *ñillatun* celebration. Invitations are extended

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deceased by attenuated affinal bonds. This is generally a group which was brought into a marriage relationship several generations ago, through a polygynous union that was contracted outside the neighborhood, and one which has not been revalidated and sustained into the present by virtue of a continuation of wife-giving and wife-receiving relationships. The Mapuche rationale for this belief is that patrilineal kinsmen and affinal groups in sustained relationship are largely above suspicion of the practice of homicidal sorcery against one another. In addition, it is felt that total strangers would lack a motive for engaging in such supernatural action, that a stranger would gain no advantage through sorcery. By elimination, this leaves "interested" persons, relatives who stand in the attenuated relationship described and who might harbor resentment.

All participants as well as observers are repeatedly invited to dance around the ceremonial altar during *ñillatun* and any male may ride with the troop which gallops around the perimeter of the ceremonial field in order to help chase away evil spirits which lurk nearby. Likewise, any member of the congregation who owns a flute (*pifülka*) or drum (*kultrun*) is able to play his instrument during ritual dances. At the highest level of responsible participation stand the *ñillatufe* from the core reservations. They are instrumental in effecting a successful performance through the ritual assistance they lend the *ñillatufe* of the host reservation. Also, there are "captains" and "sergeants" who are responsible for relaying the orders of the *ñillatufe* to the throng, calling them forth to dance, to ride, and regulating the tempo of the dances, kindling the sacrificial fires and placing meat on the altar, and maintaining general order and respect throughout the long ceremony. The delegation of responsibilities throughout the participant groups results in a truly collective representation of the moral community on all occasions of *ñillatun*. People both desire and feel obligated, before their ancestors and the community, to accept ritual responsibility.

With regard to considerations of desirability and moral compulsion much the same may be said of the groups which participate in funeral ceremonies as those taking part in *ñillatun*. Members of the funeral assemblage, although the core group is not necessarily the same on successive occasions, are at the same time members of the ritual congregation which celebrates *ñillatun* on a regular annual basis. *Awn* or funeral rites are held on the occasion of the death of any member of the ritual congregation. They are held for the purpose of insuring

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796 jewelry, repair oxcarts, clip and curry their horses. Usually there is about a month between the setting of the date and the staging of the ceremony.

796 Shortly before the date set for *ñillatun*, a select group of elders
• 798 (the designated officials) goes to the *ñillatun* field to make it ready for the performance. This group is a separate, secret conclave from which all women and children are excluded. The altar from the previous ceremony is very likely still standing, but it is in disrepair, as are the *ramadas* or cubicles made of boughs, which serve as shelters for the assembled families and guests. If
[824] the altar is an ancient carved post, only the sacred boughs of *canelo*, *maqui*, apple, and other trees, which have been stuck in the ground around it are replaced. If the altar is simply a notched post, it too may be replaced at this time. The area for a number of yards around the altar post is considered the sacred field, and is not sown or, theoretically, grazed. The *ramadas* are erected or repaired by those persons who intend to use them. Sometimes these are constructed so as to nearly encircle the ceremonial field; sometimes they are lined along one or more sides of the area. The field itself, regardless of the appearance lent to it by the *ramadas*, is considered to be circular, defined usually by the path followed by the *awn* riders.

796 The renewal or rebuilding of the *rewe* and *llañi* is the final preparatory act before the public ceremony begins. Once this is accomplished, the people begin to assemble. They commence to arrive on the morning of the first day scheduled for the public ritual. The officials are among the first to arrive, for they have to be on hand to direct the ceremony from the beginning and to
[782] greet the participants as they appear on the scene. They attend to the last-minute preparations, such as tying the sacrificial sheep (sometimes oxen) into place, seeing that enough firewood has been gathered, that the proper bowls of grain and libational offerings have been set in place near the main altar (*rewe*). Since so much of the success of the ceremony is in the hands of these officials, they attend to the most minute details of the ritual.

All participants, as distinguished from mere spectators, arrive at the ceremonial field fairly early to ready their *ramadas*, start their cooking fires, prepare soup and other foods that take long

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session follows the pattern set during the first. However, on the second day, the regimen of the first day might be threatened by drunkenness if the officials have not maintained proper supervision. The job of the officials, especially the sergeants, is to preserve order, and they may strike at people with their long poles of office if anyone violates their orders. To a great extent, it is felt that the smoothness with which the ceremony is conducted determines its success or failure, and the sergeants and captains may evict people with impunity in order to maintain the proper atmosphere for the traditional conduct of the affair.

After the initial prayer is offered in the special language (archaic) to *ñenechen* and the ancestors, the *ñillatufe* signals for the performance of *awn*, which clears the ceremonial field of any lurking forces of evil. This act is so important to the successful conclusion of *ñillatun* that, even where there are few horses available, I have seen it performed by men riding stick horses. The altar is circled several times, ideally four times or a multiple of four. The more horsemen available, the more effective the maneuver. In addition to galloping around the sacred field, some of the riders may wear sheepskin masks or have their faces painted in order to frighten away the ghosts, meanwhile hiding their own identity from them.

The front of the main altar, before which the head priest stands, faces east, a ritually propitious direction. It is around this altar and the secondary one (*llañi*), which is set up a hundred yards or so east of it, that the riders gallop. Starting from the right of the main altar, the horsemen ride counterclockwise in a number of complete circuits. Two of the riders carry standards, and the rest follow them in a column of twos, the rear being taken up by one of the sergeants who carries a long staff of office. The sergeant, who takes his cues from the captain or the priest, shouts commands to the riders. At regular intervals they raise a cry to chase away the evil spirits. All of this is a duplication of the *amulpellun* ceremony which takes place during funerals and is conducted for the same purpose. The riders are the center of attraction, as they race around the ceremonial field. They finally dismount near the *llañi*, where they tether their horses, to begin

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Five: SHAMANISM AND SORCERY: THE SISTERHOODS AND THE STRUCTURE OF SOLIDARITY

128 754 756 THIS chapter contains much ethnographic material supportive of a structural-functional interpretation of shamanism and sorcery in Mapuche society. Out of the descriptive material certain problems will emerge. These will be discussed to some extent seriatim but will be analyzed with reference to Mapuche solidary relationships in the latter part of the chapter. Some historical judgments will be made and historical interpretations of others judged. While the main emphasis of this chapter is synchronic analysis, historical insight into Mapuche symbolism will be of some help in understanding contemporary notions of good and evil.

Machi: *Marshalling the Forces of Good*

756 It is because of her ability to cure illness and prevent death that people place their faith and trust in a *machi*. She always inspires a good deal of awe on the part of her clients and people in general, for she spiritually enters the realm of supernatural beings and forces. In a manner of speaking, the *machi* enters the holy of holies, communes with and is possessed by the forces of good and is thereby able to control the forces of evil. The *machi* is the most continually active member of any community in dealing with right and wrong. Her livelihood and her spiritual survival depend on preoccupation with Mapuche morality. Her close association with the sacred realm of Mapuche society symbolizes her separateness from ordinary people.

[171] The Mapuche shaman's paraphernalia and curing practices have a good deal in common, at least in outward appearance, with the classic Siberian shamanistic pattern described by [534] Bogoras and others. Her basic props consist of a *kultrun* (shallow drum made from a wooden bowl covered with animal [778] skin), a single drumstick (always decorated with symbols of special significance to the *machi*), bells and/or a gourd rattle, a

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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by *ñenechen* and the *machi's* familiars (*pillan*).

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lawen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

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different regions, variation even occurring from one reservation to the next with regard to minor details. It is often said that all witches of a region foregather but, again, that "all *kalku* assemble in their *reñu*." Sometimes, therefore, only one large *reñu* is conceived and all witches believed to belong to a non-differentiated group. Other times, many *reñu* are said to exist, and witches are grouped into vague regional memberships.

Without attempting to explain these variations in detail, it might be said that witches are given corporate reality in the folklore which has developed around them. *Kalku* derive strength through their association. Since they "never die," they comprise an entity which has infinite social continuity. They are feared as a group in league with the totality of supernatural forces of evil, for which they recruit new members. They are the living expression, the embodiment of this evil force in the universe. Their rendezvous is secret and its accidental or purposeful discovery means either death to the unfortunate person at the hands of the body of *kalku*, or his incorporation into the group. Evil is not only cumulative but collective.

While *kalku* may be paid to work magic against other professional witches, this occurs only in exceptional cases, and is rationalized by saying that the witches so involved belong to different associations defined in the vague regional terms alluded to above—that is, to different groups between which a certain amount of antagonism or conflict of interest is attributed. This might account for the muddled opinion about whether witches should be considered a single evil entity or as an internally differentiated group. In any case, the usual opposition is between *machi* and *kalku*, between good and evil, and from this point of view individuality is played down and group membership emphasized.

As distinguished from *kalku*, shamans form actual groups of living people, associated with the forces of good through their *pillan*. They congregate for the purpose of dedicating or rededicating the sacred symbol (the *rewe*) of their profession. One of their membership validates ceremonially before her peers her full-fledged status—and the same core group of *machi* assembles regularly on such occasions. They also assemble to initiate a novice into the sisterhood, and to test her powers in group